1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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having their residence in Taipei—which is reflected in the reverse sex ratio in the village, that is, more females than males—many other villagers, both male and female, who work in Taipei continue to register their residence in Hsin Hsing.

This means that the number of registered villagers who actually live permanently in the village is well below the census figure. In fact, during the agricultural slack seasons in recent years, the actual proportion of villagers working in the city may come close to 15 percent of the total registered population. Many of them, especially the males, return to the village for the planting and harvesting. At these times they may cultivate their own fields, or at harvesttime join with groups

TABLE 10

AGE GROUPS BY PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION IN HSIN HSING VILLAGE, 1956

Ages	Number	Percent
0–10	206	32.1
11–20	159	24.8
21–30	88	13.7
31–40	78	12.2
41–50	45	7.0
51–60	34	5.5
61–70	19	3.0
70 and over	12	1.9
Total	641	100.0

of fellow villagers in exchanging labor, or hire out as members of village labor teams. (Farm labor will be discussed in detail in the chapter on agriculture.)

If we were to deduct the registered villagers who have actually lived and worked in Taipei in the past several years, we would see that the village population apparently reached its optimum size during the early 1950's. Its growth has more or less leveled off despite the continuing high rate of natural increase. This is clearly indicated in the most recent village population figures (not used in this section) which give 609 inhabitants as the village total. This figure is thus more like the village population figures for 1953–1954.

The reason so many Hsin Hsing villagers must supplement their family income in Taipei is clear when one notes that the main livelihood of the local people is intensive agriculture, which furnishes only about 65 percent of the village income; the rest comes from nonagricultural sources, especially work in Taipei. There is not enough land available to the villagers to support the growing population.

According to the April, 1957, official records, ninety Hsin Hsing

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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villagers who hold too little land to support their families.[13] Some village men peddle vegetables during the slack agricultural seasons or find some other seasonal work, but there is no real solution to the economic problem. Since Lukang offers few job opportunities for village people, the only alternative is for the village's labor surplus to move on to Taipei to find work. While the move to Taipei for most village men is merely a temporary migration to supplement family income, some establish themselves in the city and move their entire families there. Those who still have a small piece of land in the village area then usually rent it out, or ask someone else to cultivate it for them. The owner thus gains some economic security by retaining title to the land; very few people will sell their land outright.

DIET AND NUTRITION

The Hsin Hsing villager is far from self-sufficient, either for food or other needs. After the harvest the villager consumes his own vegetables, rice, and sweet potatoes, but during the course of the year, he must buy a great part of his staple food. Vegetables, additional rice, pork, fish, salt, tea, sugar, sesame seed oil, peanut oil, lard, and any number of other items are purchased either in Lukang or from itinerant merchants. Additional necessary annual purchases like clothing, tools, and other necessities, almost none of which are produced by the villagers themselves, show how dependent the villager is on the outside world.

The diet of the Hsin Hsing villager, except perhaps for the most poverty-stricken, depends more on occasion than perhaps anything else. The foods eaten at daily mealtimes are usually quite simple and inexpensive, and thrift dominates these ordinary meals. However, on special religious or other festive occasions when it is necessary to feed guests, thrifty regard for the kinds and quantities of food served becomes the least important factor. A villager invites criticism from his fellows if he is not thrifty in his everyday eating and living habits, but the man who exercises thrift on a festive occasion when outside guests are present usually earns the reputation of being "stingy."

An additional determinant of diet is the phase of the agricultural cycle. During the harvest season, for example, it is customary for everyone engaged in the heavy work to eat five meals a day. The meal at the end of the day's work is particularly elaborate and nutritious. A man may also earn himself the reputation of being stingy if, for example, he is frugal with respect to the food he serves his field laborers at harvesttime. Word of his stinginess spreads quickly, and such a farmer may find it difficult to obtain field labor at future harvesttimes. The

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The Land and the Agricultural Process

To understand present-day life in Hsin Hsing, it seems fruitful to look first at the nature of village livelihood and recent changes in it. By examining the nature of the economic change and especially its consequences—for example, the ways in which the villager, in order to improve or at least maintain his livelihood, has become increasingly involved in complex relationships beyond the village limits—we will be better able to understand the changes in other areas of life, such as social organization, village leadership and cooperation, family and kinship, and life history and religion. It will be seen in the following chapters that the changes produced in these other aspects tend to reinforce the processes of change in the economy, and hence in the village generally.

Agriculture and the land-man relationship have always been the basis of the livelihood of Hsin Hsing villagers. The major part of village income, in fact, still comes from sources related to the land. But the land resources, both in quantity and productive capacity (as already briefly noted in Chapter 2 in the section on population and its economic base), have not kept pace with the natural population increase. And yet, from all available evidence, in spite of the imbalance between agricultural income and productivity and natural population growth, the village income and standard of living have risen.

While this is important, our main concerns in Chapters 3 and 4 will be the nature of the economic organization in Hsin Hsing village, the developments which have brought about changes in the area, and how these have enabled the villagers to deal with the imbalance of land productivity to population.

Two major developments have affected Hsin Hsing and many surrounding villages as well: one is the effort, by government and villagers, to improve agricultural methods and the land tenure system so as to increase productivity and support more people; the other is the

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[423] apparently ever-increasing tendency of the villagers to turn from their
[242] traditional land-based economic pattern to other sources of income.
[167] This has mainly taken the form of migration from the village to urban
[621] centers. We shall see that these developments have affected both livelihood and standard of living in Hsin Hsing. But we shall also see,
[628] especially later, that they have produced changes in social and politi-
[602] cal patterns as well and that all the developments have, by mutual reinforcement, affected village life by weakening community organization and solidarity, thus broadening the emphasis of village relationships beyond village, area, and kinship group.

T
175 In Chapter 2 we saw that in the nineteenth and early twentieth
161 centuries the local population was relatively small. Dry cultivation was
241 practiced in the area until the present expanded irrigation system was
433 created. Agricultural production per unit of dry land had been low,
464 and required so many man-hours that villagers preferred to supple-
[434] ment their family income with other forms of labor if available. In that period the port city of Lukang was an important outlet for local village labor. Fortunately, soon after the demise of the port, irrigation facilities in the area expanded rapidly, and thus agriculture—mainly wet-rice—successfully absorbed much of the village labor as production increased. Middle-aged villagers report that thirty-five years ago, when they were boys, most of the villagers grew rice in wet fields.

T
241 For more than twenty years in the Hsin Hsing area, farmers have
312 cultivated three crops a year on their irrigated and dry land. The irrigated crops are the more important, since irrigated land comprises 93.3 percent of the cultivable acreage. Depending on the amount of water available for irrigation at the appropriate time, the farmers devote the first two of the annual crops to rice; if the water supply is insufficient, they plant other crops instead. The third is a winter crop, when there is no water for irrigation. The farmers may use all the cultivable land for it.

The first two crops of the year are usually wet-rice which is grown, naturally, on the irrigated land. The growing season for the two rice crops covers the period from early February to early November. Since the villagers' land is scattered throughout the area and irrigation schedules vary from one place to another, there is a resulting difference

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[433] in rice-planting times for the Hsin Hsing farmers. The yield of the first crop may exceed that of the second by as much as 25 percent, because of the difference in season and available irrigation water between the two growing periods.

Tn
243 There are two major types of rice grown in Taiwan; their periods of maturation are slightly different. One type is the native *tsai lai* rice, and the other is *p'eng lai* rice, introduced into Taiwan by the Japanese. *P'eng lai* rice generally brings a better market price, but the type grown depends mainly on the type of soil in the field.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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A group of ten laborers works in the field as a unit, usually taking turns at the different tasks. Four laborers will cut the rice while four others collect it and thresh it in the rotary foot-pedal threshing machine. (This machine was introduced by the Japanese in the 1930's, and is now found throughout the area.) The machine is sometimes owned by the land operator but is often either borrowed or rented. While the eight laborers are cutting and threshing, another laborer binds up the threshed rice straw, leaving it in bundles across the field. Still another laborer separates the rice from the straw in the box of the machine and puts the threshed rice into baskets, which are later carried to the farmer's house for drying, winnowing, and storing. The straw bundles are later collected and put in big stacks near the farmer's house. The straw is gradually used for fuel, compost, and animal bedding.

The harvested rice is then used to pay taxes and rent and for fertilizer or for human and animal (fowl) consumption. The surplus may be sold either to an itinerant broker or one in Lukang. The rice which is eaten or sold to brokers is milled locally. One *chin* of land in the first crop produces about 7,000 to 8,000 *chin* of *tsai lai* rice, or about 10,000 *chin* of *p'eng lai* rice. (One *chin* is equivalent to one and one-third pounds.)

However, the landholdings in Hsin Hsing are small, and it is fairly common for more than 50 percent of the village farmers not to realize any cash for the crop. The greater part of the rice crop in general, even in areas with larger landholdings, is used by the farmer to feed his family and to pay various operating expenses. These operating expenses include, beyond labor costs, the payment of taxes, land payments either to the government—if the land was purchased under the Land Reform Acts—or rent to a private landlord, and payment for fertilizer. (The payment of these expenses in kind creates a problem which will be discussed in some detail later in this chapter.)

If the third crop is wheat, it is planted immediately after the second crop, anytime from late October to early or even mid-December. Wheat in Hsin Hsing is harvested from mid-February to mid-March, depending on when it was planted. It is harvested by hand, the plant being pulled up root and all. It is threshed in the same machine used for rice and then completely dried in the sun. Usually, a broker comes to the village soon after the harvest to buy the farmers' wheat. Although the price for a *chin* of wheat is higher than for a *chin* of rice, one *chia* of land can produce less than half the amount of wheat than it can of rice. (One *chia* of land produces about 3,000–4,000 *chin* of wheat.) In the past the crops have often been plagued by a wheat disease, and for this reason many farmers still do not like to grow wheat.

In the Hsin Hsing area sweet potatoes are the principal dry-land

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crop. Sweet potatoes can be grown in either cold or hot weather and on either wet or dry land, although somewhat wet, sandy soil grows the best and largest potatoes. Too much rain during the growing season will ruin the plant. For this crop a seedbed is prepared, and the seedlings are transferred into mounds in a large field, where the potatoes mature until they are harvested. In Hsin Hsing sweet potatoes are grown in two different seasons. The early crop is planted around mid-May and harvested between mid-November and mid-January, the late crop is planted around late October and harvested from mid-January through mid-March.

In the Hsin Hsing village area as in much of rural Taiwan, the sweet potato is a standard part of the diet. And although it is an important food for human consumption, it is probably even more important as a food for animals. A large part of the sweet potato crop is sliced or shredded, dried in the farmer's courtyard by women and children, and then stored for later consumption by humans and livestock. Villagers who harvest a large sweet potato crop on portions of their dry land usually save only part of it for their own future use; they sell the remainder for cash to other farmers in the surrounding area.

In dry-land cultivation two crops, such as the sweet potato and the soybean, are often planted side by side in alternate rows and allowed to mature in this way for the entire growing season. This system of planting is a variation of the *hutze* or interplanting system and is commonly employed for the third crop in Hsin Hsing and the surrounding area. The system "involves planting a crop in the field a few weeks before the harvest of the previous crop, [and] makes more intensive use of the land" (Chang, 1954:4). It extends the growing season and also gives the young plants a good start while the weather is still mild. For example, a few weeks before the mature second crop is harvested, the third crop is planted between its rows. This can be done even when the second crop is wet-rice, since water is not needed in the paddy fields in the last few weeks of growth.

Because operating expenses are high, as is the general cost of living today, and because the villagers do not have enough land to till, many find it increasingly difficult to make ends meet by growing only the standard rice crops. In such cases they have two alternatives; they can go to Taipei to work and earn extra income, or they can use their small amount of land in such a way as to obtain the largest possible income from it. The latter alternative is preferred by many who have found the best possible answer in the cultivation of vegetables for market sale.

It is common for farmers cultivating irrigated land to substitute other crops for rice on a portion of their land. Such substitute crops,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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Such substitute crops, especially various kinds of vegetables, require more attention and labor than rice but have the greater advantage of yielding a larger and quicker cash profit. However, the farmer who grows these crops must use part of the cash he makes to buy rice, which must be used in exchange for fertilizer (obtainable only through government agents), for payment of taxes and/or rent, and for his family's consumption. Perhaps for these reasons, and also because one must be willing to take a chance with a new crop which may sometimes become diseased or fail completely, other farmers prefer to grow rice on their small landholdings and earn the necessary supplementary income by finding employment in Taipei, returning home to work the land during the busy seasons.

Sometimes, however, the decision to switch to another crop is forced upon even the most conservative rice grower. A shortage of irrigation water or a delay in its arrival may make it impossible to grow rice at all. If the last possible calendar date for transferring the rice into the paddy fields passes before the irrigation water arrives, the farmer is forced to substitute a crop which does not depend upon large quantities of water at special times.

To date farmers who have chosen or been forced to grow vegetables have found it both interesting and exciting, perhaps because it is still relatively novel. And although the new crop does require a great deal more work than rice, the vegetable growers seem to find great pleasure in comparing and discussing the progress of their vegetable crops. This apparent trend toward the cultivation of vegetables began about four or five years after the restoration of Chinese rule, at about the same time Hsin Hsing villagers began to go to Taipei in search of supplementary income. The trend was apparently created by the villagers' need for additional income, but at the same time it was made possible by significant changes in the procedure for growing vegetables.

In the early years before and just after the restoration, farmers planted vegetables mainly for their own use. A very few planted some cucumbers, peanuts, and maize as cash crops. Insects, a major problem, deterred many farmers from large-scale cultivation of vegetables for market sale. The vegetables had to be planted and harvested by certain dates for fear of the coming of insects. Because there were no insecticides, the villagers sometimes used ritual practices such as charms, the action of shamans, or village worship to get rid of the insects. Recently, however, the increased availability of insecticides has all but eliminated the insect threat, and most vegetables can now be grown almost anytime. The only limitations are those of temperature and water. Today some vegetables can be found in the market throughout the year, thus offering the population a greater variety of vegetables.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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In Hsin Hsing village, intensive cultivation of vegetables for market sale began with the onion, the red pepper, and then the green pepper. Often, too many farmers planted the same vegetable, its market price dropped, and most of them then switched to another vegetable that promised a good market. Today many farmers carefully watch the market situation and through the radio, or more usually by word of mouth, observe the fluctuations in the price of various vegetables.

A progressive farmer who hears about a new vegetable crop being grown in the area or reads about a new crop in an agricultural magazine like *Harvest Magazine* may then try to learn how to grow the same vegetable by setting aside a small portion of his land for the experiment. Such was the case with the green pepper. It was first planted in Hsin Hsing for market about 1955. By 1958 there were more than eleven farmers marketing it.

In recent years more and more land surface in Hsin Hsing, as well as in the area generally, has been given over to the cultivation of vegetables. One estimate holds that today the Hsin Hsing land devoted to market vegetables is twice what it was eight or nine years ago and still increasing. In fact, a reliable informant estimates that, exclusive of income from labor outside the area, approximately 10 percent of the village income is now derived from marketing vegetables, 70 percent from rice, 10 percent from the mint plant, 5 percent from farm labor, and 5 percent from miscellaneous sources. Such an increase in vegetable cultivation certainly represents a trend toward crop diversification, with the result that now the area is becoming much less the one-crop area (rice) for which it was formerly known.

In addition to farmers who substitute vegetable growing for partial or total rice cultivation on their land, there are a few farmers who grow mint or sugarcane. While the vegetable farmers are men who were forced by climatic or economic necessity to grow alternate crops, the mint and cane growers are men who, by virtue of sufficient land and money, can afford to gamble on reaping a greater profit from the cultivation of an alternate crop. Such men chose to grow mint or sugarcane because they are long-term crops demanding much less labor, time, and energy than is required for vegetable cultivation.

The man who grows mint instead of rice usually has contacts outside of the village. He must be familiar with the menthol oil market, and especially with the local menthol-distilling factories which can distill his mint crop for sale to the dealers. At the same time, he must have enough time to tend to all the details of arranging for the distillation and sale of the menthol. Two of the few villagers in Hsin Hsing who frequently grow mint are former landlords who have many contacts outside the village through politics and business dealings.

The mint plant, planted only once a year, yields four harvests dur-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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fowl, although some of them, especially young girls, prefer not to kill fowl. When the throat is cut the blood is collected in a bowl of uncooked rice and later made into a kind of soup.

A few villagers also keep some rabbits and goats. Rabbits are used for food on festive occasions and are also sold in the market. Goats are kept in preparation for a marriage, when they, as well as a pig or two, are slaughted, used in the religious ceremonial, and later fed to the guests.

As shown in Table 12, in 1958 there were seventeen water buffalo in Hsin Hsing village. These are kept strictly as work animals and are not considered as food by most of the villagers. This is perhaps related to the feeling built up over the years toward this useful, hardworking, and tame animal. Villagers say that they have no such feeling for pigs, which do nothing all their lives but prepare for the day when they will be eaten, but some of the village women actually become ill at the thought of eating beef. On the other hand, many village men, especially those who have worked or served in the army outside the village area, boast of how they have often eaten beef.

In the village, young boys and sometimes old men take care of the water buffalo when the animal is not working in the field. The young boy is in fact referred to as the "cow boy" and can often be seen riding on the animal's back or leading it along the narrow paths between the fields where the buffalos can graze. In the market town of Chi Hu, five miles southeast of Hsin Hsing, there is a special market where water buffalos are bought and sold on two fixed days each month.

AGRICULTURAL LINKS BEYOND THE VILLAGE

Most crops are not kept in the village very long after they are harvested. The bulk of them is used to pay the farmers' operating expenses or is sold. Some vegetables are preserved for future use as food for the family and for livestock. For example, sweet potatoes, radishes, and cabbages are cut up, dried in the sun, and then stored in sacks. In addition, a small quantity of fresh sweet potatoes is frequently stored in the house, also to be used as food for family and livestock. The potatoes are piled on the floor in the corner of one room of the house. It is common to use a corner of the main room of the house—the *kung t'ing*, the ancestral-worship room—for this purpose. Thus, besides the religious altar in the rear, one frequently finds in this room all kinds of stored valuables such as rice, fertilizer, and some of the farm implements. The rats, which frequently destroy part of the crop while it is growing in the field, also take their toll of the food stored in the house.

Those villagers who grow cash vegetable crops usually market them

[See category 116, p. 59--Analyst]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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423 464 169 all of their families to live in the city, although they still maintained registration in the village. Others still maintain a household in the village, leaving an old mother or perhaps even a wife and daughters in the village house.

423 592 888 Other landless households consist of old people who, in the course of family division, left themselves landless by dividing their land among their sons. Such old people usually continue to live in their own house or apartment in the village and eat with their sons' families on a rotation basis.

423 434 464 In Hsin Hsing village there are many farming families who, like the landless, must engage in some form of supplementary activity to earn additional income. Of the 90 farming households, 40 cultivate less than 0.5 *chia* (1.2 acres) of land. (See Table 20.) Many of these families, and even some families which cultivate more than 0.5 *chia*, are too large for the income from so little land. To augment their income, some work as farm laborers and others as itinerant merchants, but most go to Taipei to seek work. In the near future the continued population increase and fractionalization of the land may force more and more of these families into the ranks of the landless.

423 511 Many of the benefits which should have resulted from the land reform—the rent reduction, the increased incentive to work the land, the increased crop production and the higher income from a greater application of fertilizer—are negated by a general rise in operating costs for the tiller. This is especially true for former tenants who bought land through the 1953 Land-to-the-Tiller Act; their annual payments on land purchased from the government come to a higher amount than would have been charged in rent (37.5 percent) for similar land. In addition, they now also bear all the operating costs on the land, which formerly were largely borne by the landlord. At the time of the research (1958) at least, this act in itself had not brought about any noteworthy increase in the standard of living.

Although the annual payments on the mortgage to the government do not exceed the 37.5 percent rent paid as tenants on private land or the 25 percent rent paid as tenants on the formerly public owned land, the financial burden is actually heavier than it was when the farmers were still tenants paying reduced rents. As Chang (1954:89–91) has pointed out,

> A new owner, so far as he has not fully paid the land price, is in fact a tenant. He has to assume a burden of duties and land price more than that of a bona fide tenant, and has to pay the operating expenses equal to those of a tenant, which are generally higher than those of owner-farmers. His income, too, like that of a tenant, is lower than that of owner-farmers. . . . The situation of new owners, within the coming ten years, will certainly be no better than that of tenants. But looking forward to [being a] full owner-farmer after ten years, when his burden will be only 14.82 percent of his

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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annual main crop, the new owner is mentally in a better situation, and socially he has climbed to the rank of owner-farmer.

Often, villagers who have purchased land under the reform program do not really consider themselves its owners. Besides knowing that they are not yet reaping any increased income from the land, many have a "seeing is believing" attitude. They will believe that the government has made it possible for them to own the land when they no longer have to pay on the mortgage and when they earn an income from the land equivalent to what an owner-farmer earns. They recognize what the future may hold for them as "real owners," but, in the meantime, the burden is extremely heavy.

Villagers who work outside Hsin Hsing have done more to raise the standard of living than has the decrease in tenancy. The increased use of cash has also led to an apparent rise in living standards. In Japanese times, villagers tended to save their money toward future land purchase. Today, people no longer save money for fear of inflation; instead, they are using their cash to purchase tangible goods—bicycles, more and better clothing, and so on, are increasingly in evidence in the rural area.

THE NATURE OF PRIVATE-OWNERSHIP LAND

The 29.5567 *chia* of privately owned land in Hsin Hsing village falls into three categories: (1) individually owned, 35.3 percent of the total private land; (2) jointly owned, 61.5 percent of the total; and (3) corporate or community owned, only 3.2 percent of all the private land owned. (See Table 24.) This classification and the percentages for each type in Hsin Hsing approximate the situation in Taiwan as a whole (T'ang, 1954:98–107).

The system of individually owned land is rather simple, since it consists of portions of land legally owned by one individual who, in most cases, represents a family. On all land records this land is always listed in the name of that one owner. As can be seen in Table 24, very little of the land individually owned in Hsin Hsing is house or road land; it is almost all cultivated land.

Joint-ownership land in Taiwan is one of the most complex forms of private ownership to record and keep track of. It is a common phenomenon making up the largest percentage of the privately owned land in Hsin Hsing as well as in Taiwan. A plot of land is owned jointly by from two to hundreds of individuals. Each joint owner will own a portion of the plot—one-third, one-fifth, or one-twelfth, and so on. In many cases, in Hsin Hsing at least, the joint owners do not own equal shares. Each joint owner may work his share independently or in small groups according to family relationship.

Under the land reform record-keeping system, rather than register-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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home whenever his labor is required by the family. Other young men peddle vegetables in the slack season. The only equipment necessary is a strong bicycle. The young men go to the market town of Yuan Lin early in the morning to buy vegetables and then sell them along a regular route of villages. Very often they peddle in villages where they have friends or *ch'in ch'i* relatives who can introduce them to potential customers. A young man peddling vegetables can earn NT $10 or more a day, which he will give to the head of the household.

A few village men earn money as rice or land brokers in the local area. There are also several village men who earn extra income as professional cooks at weddings or other local festivals. A few of the older men may on occasion still go up into the interior mountains or hills for several days to find herbs which they sell to Chinese druggists, but this part-time occupation is not as commonly engaged in now as it was in the past.

Several girls and young women of the village have recently gone away from home to work in a sugar factory in the mountains. The sugar companies send men to the villages to recruit them; later a company truck comes to pick up all the recruits from the area and take them to the factory, where they live in dormitories.

Village women and girls also weave fiber hats at home in their spare time. The white fiber, made from the bark of a tree, is supplied by factory agents from Lukang who travel from village to village leaving the fiber with the women, picking up the completed hats on subsequent stops. The women, who may work on one hat sporadically for several days, receive between NT $6 to NT $12 for each hat depending on the quality of the fiber worked. These hats are then finished in small factories for export.

The most important outlet for the excess labor of the Hsin Hsing village area since the late 1940's has been employment in Taipei. The income for the villagers earned by work or business in Taipei has been steadily increasing, as has the number of villagers going there. The village representative and his son, who is employed in the district Public Office, estimated that 35 percent of the total village income in 1957–1958 was derived from work or business outside the village area, mainly from work in Taipei. Most villagers send their earnings home in small sums, either by registered mail or by a fellow villager. The remaining 65 percent of the village income was estimated as follows: about 45 percent from rice production, 6.5 percent from the marketing of vegetables, 6.5 percent from the sale of menthol oil, 3 percent from farm labor, and 4 percent from other sources. The income which the villager earns as a laborer in Taipei is not included for tax purposes with the farm income.

In 1958 there were about one hundred Hsin Hsing village residents

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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either working or doing business in Taipei. This group was composed mostly of men, although a large number of boys above the age of sixteen and also some women and girls were included. Other than a small minority who have their own business, most of these men worked as pedicab drivers, coolie laborers, or clerks in stores. Men who have some land in the village usually have jobs driving a pedicab or pulling a vegetable cart which permit them freedom to return home for the harvest or other busy agricultural seasons. Some villagers, who have been in Taipei long enough to save some money, manage to buy their own pedicab or vegetable cart. Those who do not usually rent them by the day.

It is common for girls or women to work as cooks or domestic servants. Villagers who work as house servants or clerks have frequently been referred to their jobs through a relative, friend, or fellow villager before leaving the village. The villager usually lives in the home or store of the employer. On the other hand, the villager engaged in the other forms of labor usually shifts for himself. In such cases, if the man does not have his family in Taipei, he often shares a small room with several other villagers who also work in the city. The men share the room rent and get their meals at restaurants or sidewalk food stands.

If the young male villagers live in their employer's quarters, their activities are usually rather closely supervised. However, young males, especially those who work as pedicab drivers and live on their own, often get into trouble—drinking, gambling, frequenting bars, and visiting prostitutes. Sometimes they fall in with groups of boys who engage in gang fights. The boy's family first notices something is wrong when he fails to send money home. The family either questions other adult villagers who have returned from Taipei or writes to a villager in Taipei to discover what is wrong. When they find out about the boy's activities, they send word to him to return home.

Another group of young villagers likely to get into difficulties in Taipei is the younger married men who leave their wives in the village. Sometimes, they become involved with other women in the city or even take a second wife. This results in family conflict and occasionally leads to divorce and bad feeling between the husband's family and that of his first wife.

While most parents are aware of the possibly corrupting influences on their sons who go to Taipei, they nevertheless rationalize their fears because the additional income is so useful to the family. It is only after something happens and the boy is actually in trouble that they call him home.

Not only has working in Taipei had direct gross effects on the men who go there but it has also greatly affected the role of women and children who remain in the village.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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be a farmer like himself and "suffer on the land." He wants him to become a businessman or teacher for "although teachers and minor officials don't make much money, their work is easy." He wants his daughters to marry businessmen since "rather than having money only after the harvest, the businessman always has money coming in." Unfortunately, the farmer cannot always afford to educate his son beyond the primary grades. The family may not be able to afford middle school fees, or there may be a need for the boy's labor on the farm or for the income he can earn in some kind of menial work in Taipei. As for a daughter, in the traditional way of arranging marriages in rural society, often the best a father can do is marry her to the son of another poor farmer like himself. There is an old saying *"Men t'ang hu tuei,"* which means that a suitable marriage joins families of the same social standing. Thus, as the farmer sees it, his situation is a vicious circle: his socioeconomic condition itself bars any hope for improvement for himself or his children.

Yet, for most who remain in the village, there is a certain ambivalence in attitude. In spite of the statements just quoted, for many of them sentiment still runs high for life in the village and on the land. There is a certain amount of security on the land and in the village where life has meaning and regularity. There is a time for work and time for play, and the villager is somebody with a definite place in the scheme of things.

This sentiment is shared and actually more explicitly expressed by the group of families in the village earlier described as unable to reap an adequate living from their small landholdings. Of this group of perhaps no more than ten families, the adult male members had previously sought supplemental income in the city but were either unable or unwilling to adjust to city life. Some could not find secure jobs which would enable them to support their families there, and feared the effects, especially on their children, of the split household. Others had misgivings about exposing their families to the corrupting effects of urban life, even though it would have been financially feasible to move the whole family to the city.

It is the families of this group which have been influential in making the growing and marketing of vegetables as a cash crop an important part of village livelihood. They are willing to take the gamble still present in vegetable growing, since they see it as the only possible way of earning enough money on their insufficient landholding to enable them to remain in the village.

Thus, not only does out-migration of Hsin Hsing villagers to the city have direct consequences for village life but the attempt of several families to find ways for the whole family to remain in the village has its effects on the village as a whole. Some of these farmers are succes-

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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the above description fits perfectly. While the large joint families in the village constitute only a small minority, the form is nevertheless within the realm of achievement for a family which can manage to have enough children who work hard and cooperate toward this end.

As was pointed out earlier, although the majority of the economic families in the village are conjugal, there is a natural cyclic process through which any family may evolve three different forms in a few years. Many conjugal families do develop into the stem form and some into the joint, but usually it is not long before division takes place and the family is once more reduced to a simpler form.

FAMILY DIVISION

There are certain inherent difficulties in the large family form which almost inevitably lead to eventual division of a large family. An insufficient economic base and land scarcity are probably the most common reasons for division. A *chia* may have enough sons to form a large family, but there may not be enough land to maintain a group of several small families, and it may be difficult to obtain the additional land needed for their maintenance.

The family's economic inadequacy frequently gives rise to many devisive forces. A son, and especially his wife, may come to feel that the other family members are not contributing equitably to the family maintenance and are thus the cause of the inadequate family income. These feelings may be based on fact. One son may not be working as hard as the others, and have more children than the others, or a son or brother may be absent from the village, leaving his family behind. For example, in 1958 several twenty-nine-year-old men with families were conscripted for military service for two years. The district Public Office decided in some cases that the conscriptees' brothers who had separate *chia* could help support their families. But in all of those cases where conscriptees belonged to joint families, the *chia* is not only deprived of the man's usual contributions but always has to support his wife and children and, in addition, send him a monthly supplement to his inadequate army pay. It is considered selfish under such circumstances for the rest of the family to wish to divide the economic household and land because one member is not earning his keep, but, as evidenced in Hsin Hsing, it does happen.

Usually, there is no problem if a son goes to Taipei to work, leaving his wife and children behind with the joint family, as long as he regularly sends money home. However, there have been incidents where a man was caught up in the ways of the big city—perhaps with another woman or merely with its entertainment—and sent little or no money back. Under such circumstances the idea of family division is likely to come up, probably initiated and encouraged by the

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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daughter-in-law who feels that her own husband works the hardest and contributes most to the family's income. The daughter-in-law's reason for wanting the division may, of course, be much more basic, such as being treated badly in the house or wanting independence, but situations like these give her a good excuse. The villagers feel that it is usual for the daughters-in-law to want to divide the family even though their husbands do not. "This is because the woman's mind is smaller than the husband's."

When division-provoking situations do arise, they are frequently aggravated by the desire of the *chia chang* and his wife to minimize strain by distributing the family's wealth and chores equally. They usually see to it that each small family in the *chia* is given food and money for clothing equally and that all the family members, including daughters-in-law, share equally in the work. While this policy is especially designed to prevent jealousy among the daughters-in-law, it can lead to greater ill-feeling when a daughter-in-law, and possibly her husband, contribute much more than the others and yet receive no more for their work.

Under such circumstances as these, then, a family division may occur. It takes place after a general agreement by the whole family that each son will after all work harder and do better for his own small family when he is independent and on his own. However, division is not inevitable. Sometimes one son of a large family may work in Taipei to supplement the family income. If he does well there, an ideal situation for the family may develop, with part of its income coming from the city while the rest of the family stays and works in the village. It has also happened that the son in the city gradually brought his other brothers into the city business and finally, after selling the land in the village, brought the whole family to live in the city. They often remain a single economic household there—at least for a short time. However, on other occasions a son doing well in Taipei has decided that it is best for his own wife and children to benefit by his good fortune, and, by bringing them to live in the city, he has forced the division of the large family.

Sometimes other factors contribute to the early division of large families. Since some of the taxes paid to the government are progressive, a large family with a higher income may divide in the hope of lowering its total taxes. Occasionally, a landlord may wish to accumulate more land and so divides the family and registers the land in different names, which can be done under the land reform laws. Other families may divide in the belief that there is more danger of conscription for men in a large family. Such a recent division, however, is not recognized by the authorities as negating the possibility of kin in other households supporting the soldier's family.

A very strong and authoritarian *chia chang*, or even his wife, can

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

This appears to be especially true in Hsin Hsing village where the *tsu* groups are small and so have little, if any, income from corporate land holdings. A large *tsu* with income from corporate land has a formal organization for the carrying out of ancestor worship or funeral arrangements. The more casually organized *tsu* of Hsin Hsing, however, must organize themselves for each occasion, and most *chia* must actively contribute both time and money. 596 618 769

Therefore, whenever worship of an early ancestor is to take place in one of the larger Hsin Hsing *tsu* compounds like those of the Huang or K'ang groups, each smaller *chia* sends incense, yellow paper money, and food to be used as sacrifices. There is no system of rotation under which each household in turn furnishes the sacrifices for all, although the care of the ancestral-worship room rotates from one *chia* to another at yearly intervals. In the Huang compound, for example, each of the four branches of the *tsu* which descend from the four sons of the *tsu's* founding father takes over the responsibility for the *kung t'ing* for a year and then passes it on to the next branch. The Huang *tsu*, though the largest in the village, has no income from corporate land. The *chia* which has the annual responsibility for the *kung t'ing* must therefore buy incense and paper money for the regular worship in addition to keeping the room clean. The large K'ang *tsu*, on the other hand, has corporate land; the income from this property, through the agency of one of the elders of the *tsu*, covers any additional expenses in the operation of the *kung t'ing*, such as the repair of any religious objects belonging to the *tsu*. The men in a religious family or *tsu* who are respected and act as advisors on *tsu* matters are those who give their time and who are the first to do any necessary work or to give money for *tsu* purposes. However, whatever the type or size of *tsu* group, the worship of the ancestors follows a standard pattern, the only difference being the number of *chia* which participate. 596 434 618 769 596 618 769

Thus, it is only on limited occasions that the entire *tsu* worships the early ancestors held in common by all *tsu* members. These infrequent rituals are held in the main *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* compound, and male representatives of the *tsu's* member families then seem to be the main participants. On such occasions, the main *tsu kung t'ing* serves as a kind of informal ancestral hall. However, on many other occasions, a small group worships their own more recent ancestors in this same main *kung t'ing* where their ancestors' tablets are housed and which then serves as a kind of private family or sub-*tsu kung t'ing*. Frequently, however, smaller sub-*tsu* groupings or families house the ancestral tablets of their recently deceased personal ancestors in their private, small, informal *kung t'ing* within their own apartment. 596 618 769 353 778

Most of the actual ancestral-worship rituals in the village are for the benefit of more recent ancestors of the sub-*tsu* groupings, and these are

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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complete their education and so speak little if any Kuo-yu. Therefore, sometime during the preconscription age of twenty to twenty-two the government requires all males who have not completed primary school to attend special Kuo-Yu classes at the local primary school. The local police see to it that these boys attend the classes by imposing fines on the families of the negligent.

In general, the villagers disapprove of forced military service and deeply resent the conscription of men with families. The service imposes many hardships on the families, since it means a loss of farm labor and actual income. While the government assumes some financial responsibility for the families of such men, the aid is slow in coming, and when it does arrive, it is usually insufficient. Moreover, the soldier's pay is so small that rural families have to send their sons or husbands in the army additional spending money almost every month.

In addition to their concern about the hardships conscription imposes on the families, the villagers also fear for the safety of their sons and husbands. Many of the boys from the area are stationed on the offshore islands of Quemoy and Matsu, rightly considered dangerous places. However, in spite of the many problems, one attitude the villagers express, at least in public, is that "like taxes, military service is every man's duty."

In most instances, before a group of villagers leaves to begin service in the army, several functions are held to "send the men off." The night before the departure a village *pai-pai* is held in which the gods are asked to speed the safe return of the conscripts. Every village family participates, each bringing a basket of sacrifice foods to the court of one of the larger village *tsu* houses. Here a shaman (*fa shih*) performs a ritual, inviting the gods to come and partake of the food offerings. At the conclusion of the ritual, each family takes its own food home and eats it for their evening meal.

That same night before the men leave, a large subscription dinner may be held in honor of the draftees. While every village family participates in the *pai-pai*, many families do not take part in this large dinner. Usually, only families which are friendly with the draftees' families will pay the subscription price and send a representative to attend. The representative may be the family head himself or a young son of sixteen years or more. One or two of the village men who earn extra income as cooks on various occasions prepare this dinner at no charge, and several village men and/or boys volunteer to serve the food. Some of the women usually help in the kitchen. At the dinner there is a good deal of drinking and drinking games, joking, and storytelling. In addition, some of the more respected *tsu* leaders or elected officials make speeches.

The next morning the men are sent off by most of the village. The

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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when their son is absent may cause irreparable harm to family relationships.

There are a few cases in Hsin Hsing and other villages in the area where an early marriage was arranged because a boy was to be called into the army. These are usually small families which must replace the loss of a son's labor with that of his wife. While the girl may not be able to perform as well as the man, the family tries to choose a strong, capable, and obedient girl who knows farming and whom they feel they can control during her husband's absence.

In recent years another factor which has played an important though not so direct a part in the postponement of marriage has been the increased economic value of girls. A daughter now can contribute substantially to the family income. She may earn money as a seamstress at home, as a field laborer during weeding operations or harvests, or even as a factory laborer in the city. Her marriage now means an economic loss to the family, and it is therefore not unusual for parents to postpone the event for some time. A pretty and capable daughter of one of the K'ang families was not married until she was almost twenty-three-years-old. When she was finally about to be married, her father said that he had held off arranging her marriage as long as possible because she had contributed much to the family income by sewing.

As noted earlier, the emphasis on the importance of family continuity requires that marriages be carefully arranged. However, the interpretation of what is a careful and good method of marriage arrangement has been changing through the years, and today, it is quite different from what it was early in the century. Forty to fifty years ago the arrangements were made solely on the word of a marriage broker, and not even the parents saw the prospective spouse of their son or daughter. Today, it is common for the couple to get a glimpse of each other and, in addition, to have some part in the decision as to the desirability of the marriage.

One of the first changes in the system was that the parents, instead of depending completely on the word of the matchmaker, began to insist on seeing the prospective bride or groom and the family in order to have a sounder basis for making a decision. The matchmaker was asked to effect a meeting of the two sets of parents, at which there were delicate and indirect discussions about their respective families and the possible marriage. Of course final decisions were not made until the matchmaker had discussed privately with each family the other's attributes and transmitted proposals and counter-proposals about the engagement gifts and dowry. At the same time both families took the opportunity to learn as much as possible about the other family from neighbors and friends. The young people had little to do with either discussion or decision.

In the past seven or eight years it has become possible for the young

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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these unknown dead. At night many villagers consciously avoid the devil temple for fear that they may be harmed by its spirits.

In addition, the villagers also worship spirits of the unknown dead which have been confined for long periods of time or even permanently to the underworld for having led immoral lives. During the seventh lunar month these spirits are released and permitted to journey to the surface, where they roam about for the entire month. At this time they must be offered sustenance. The villagers refer to them as good brothers also, but, unlike the good brothers worshipped on the second and sixteenth of each lunar month, these good brothers are "criminal" good brothers.

Until a few years ago each community in the Hsin Hsing area and the city of Lukang worshipped them with large *pai-pai* on different days of the seventh lunar month. The many *pai-pai* held throughout the month made it possible for the people in one place to invite people from elsewhere to share in their feast. While this was very exciting, it involved a great deal of "waste," and so in the early 1950's, in the interests of austerity, the government decreed that the seventh month *pai-pai* must all be held on the same day, the fifteenth day of the seventh month. Today, therefore, since there cannot be outside visitors, each *pai-pai* is quite modest, with only pork, vegetable dishes, fruit, incense, and paper money being sacrificed. These are offered not only to the good brothers but also to an underworld god known as P'u Tu Kung who watches over the good brothers. The villagers call this occasion, the fifteenth of the seventh month, Chung Yuan.

The most frequent *pai-pai* which villagers define as calendrical are the four which are held independently by all village families on the same days of each lunar month. On the first and fifteenth all the gods and their soldiers and horses are worshipped. On the second and sixteenth days of each month, as mentioned above, offerings are made to the good brothers. These *pai-pai* are simple, and the villagers call the food sacrifices "rice and vegetables," meaning soups and cut-up pieces of pork or fish. No fowl, whole fish, or large slabs of pork are sacrificed on these occasions. Since all the families worship individually at the same time, there are no outsiders present to share in the food sacrifices.

One of the most important family holidays of the year is celebrated in winter in the first lunar month—the Chinese New Year. Although each family tries to have all its members together for this occasion, in the last several years a number of villagers who work outside have not returned home to celebrate this holiday on the excuse that the transportation facilities are too crowded and that it is difficult to travel. As a matter of fact, by remaining in Taipei during the holiday and continuing their work as pedicab drivers, these men are usually able to double their earnings because of the increased business. Nevertheless,

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
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native soil, it usually becomes unimportant in the face of better economic opportunities off the land. As we saw in Chapter 4 especially, it is not only peasants who will willingly sell their land once other forms of economic security are firmly established elsewhere, but even the wealthy landlord of long-standing tradition on the land in the area. Such a man who, if anyone, is well indoctrinated with the concept of the Great (Confucian) Tradition and the value placed on ancestral land has willingly sold off not only sections of land since the land reform but even his total family landholdings when outside commercial investment seemed more feasible. When a peasant family establishes itself in Taipei or another urban center and retains its land, it apparently does so for economic security only, not for the land's "symbolic value." Also, migration to a city by Hsin Hsing area villagers if economically successful, is very frequently conceived as a permanent rather than a temporary family move. This seems to be quite different from numerous observations in various areas of the mainland by Kulp (1925:42–45), M. Yang (1945:229), and C. K. Yang (1959:71–75), where migration was almost always undertaken as a temporary measure.

Families who remain in the village regardless of their inability to reap an adequate living from insufficient landholdings do so because they consider village life a more desirable way to live. Since there is little industry and few steady work opportunities in the local area, some find low paying and seasonal jobs as local laborers or establish some kind of itinerant business operation to supplement their meager income. Others are switching from the traditional rice crops to cash crops such as vegetables for market. This development has occurred despite the obstacles which the government, perhaps inadvertently, places in the way of farmers who wish to grow almost anything other than rice as their main crop.

Apparently, these people care more for the continued enjoyment of a rural mode of life than for the land itself. Many, having tried city life and work, come back to live and work in the village primarily because they did not like the urban conditions. These people do not remain in the village and on the land for conservative reasons or as a reaction to change. In Hsin Hsing, it is this group of people which is most active in the community. They bring about internal economic and social changes in the village through their attempt to improve agricultural methods, which brings them into contact with government and JCRR agriculture agents as well as with farmers in the surrounding rural area. This group stands in contrast to a larger group of conservative villagers who have continued to cultivate their diminishing land base in the traditional manner.

only register an adopted female child as a lông-lù or a sīm-pûà. The adoption of female children as cā-bô-kàn was illegal and punishable by fine. The inevitable result of such a restriction was that the lông-lù form of adoption was used as a means of concealing adoptions which would formerly have been of the cā-bô-kàn variety. Because of the commitment to a marriage it was both difficult and dangerous for a family to register a cā-bô-kàn as a sīm-pûà, but it was easy enough to change the child's surname and have her registered as a lông-lù. Even today one finds in the households of some of the wealthier Hsulin families adopted daughters who are clearly no more than long-term servants. Adopted by their foster families when they are five or six years of age, they are given their foster parents surnames and registered as lông-lù so when they reach the age of eighteen or nineteen they marry out of the family. In the meantime they are kept busy with cooking, cleaning, the care of children, and sundry other household chores. The only difference between their position and that of the cā-bô-kàn of fifty years ago is that they are not eligible to marry a member of the family because of their official status as a daughter of the family.

A second reason for the relatively low status of the lông-lù form of adoption is its association with prostitution. As we shall see later, women who are themselves prostitutes often fear that they will not be able to marry, and as a result feel that they need to find "a stick to lean on." The natural solution is to adopt a daughter and raise her to the profession. Considering that some of the successful professionals earn as much as NT$5000 to NT$6000 a month, the three or

four hundred dollars required to buy an adopted daughter is relatively cheap insurance. There are also professional dealers in such urban areas as Taipei who buy girls of twelve or thirteen years of age and then sell them to wine houses or brothels. Such transactions often require registering the girl as an adopted daughter in order to conceal the true reason for her change of residence. Li Teng-Yu reported in 1943 that of the 162 girls working in three brothels in Taipei, 139 were registered as adopted daughters.[2] The result has been that the lông-lù form of adoption has become so suspect that many people will not consider giving a daughter in adoption to a family who does not intend to marry the girl to one of their own sons. According to a stereotype popular in Hsiachichou, it is only the very poor who will give a daughter in adoption as a lông-lù because they are the only people who care about the small difference in the amount of bride price, but like most stereotypes this one is misleading. The correlation between wealth and the likelihood of a family's giving a daughter in adoption as a lông-lù is primarily a result of the fact that the wealthy are more concerned about face. When they are reasonably sure that the girl is not to be sold into prostitution, a poor family will give a daughter in adoption as a lông-lù. Having little face, they have little to lose. A wealthy family, on the other hand, will not consider such an adoption regardless of the circumstances. Having face, they must be concerned to keep it untarnished.

The adoption of cî-bô-kàn was never very common in the village of Hsiachichou. In the years before World War II the villagers were too

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2 Li Teng-yu, "sîm-pûà to lông-lù" (sîm-pûà and lông-lù), Minzoku Taiwan, Vol. 4, No. 11 (1943), p. 17.

decades of this century every family was more or less on a par. The only important difference between families was the amount of land owned, and none of them owned very much. In 1960 some families were still farmers with less than half an acre of land or coal miners earning only a few dollars a day, but others were working as technicians or petty bureaucrats or had managed to establish themselves in some kind of a business. As a result, we find that in recent years wealth has become an important factor in determining whether or not a family will decide to give away a child in adoption. Some families are still forced to give away many of their female children simply in order to raise their sons, while there are other families who can afford to raise their daughters without sacrificing other goals.

Since our information concerning the relative income of the various families living in Hsiachichou is not so detailed as to permit a direct comparison of individual families at different points in time, the extent of these changes can best be illustrated by comparing those two areas of the village known as Shangchou and Hsiachou, the former now containing more of the affluent citizens of Hsiachichou and the latter housing their less successful neighbors. The families originally living in Shangchou took advantage of the opportunities offered by the changing economy early, giving them an initial advantage over their neighbors in Hsiachou. More importantly, most of the better building sites in the village are located in Shangchou and those families who have improved their lot in recent years to the point that they could afford to build a new house have built it in Shangchou, leaving their

offset by gifts received from friends and relatives at the time of the wedding. Depending upon their degree of relationship, relatives usually give between NT$40 and NT$80, except for the groom's mother's brother who must give at least NT$500; and friends and neighbors usually give NT$20 to NT$50, although good friends may give considerably more. But while these gifts are a welcome boon, they do not even meet the cost of the wedding feast which is approximately NT$80 per guest. Given then that the average family's gross income is somewhere between NT$15,000 and NT$20,000 one can understand why it is that many families are reluctant to undertake a preferred marriage for even one son, let alone two or three. The cost of even one such marriage may put a family into debt for years.

There are, of course, various ways in which a family can economize on the preferred form of marriage. They can bargain over the bride price until it is reduced to the bare minimum; they can buy the lightest and least expensive jewelry available; the wedding feasts can be limited to the family's closest relatives; and such common elaborations as a band and taxicabs can be eliminated. The point is that if a family has to economize so drastically it is better for them to adopt a sīm-pûa than to even attempt the preferred marriage. For the same reason that a family can gain face by marrying a son in the preferred way, they can lose face by carrying out such a marriage in a manner that does not satisfy people's expectations. A sīm-pûa marriage does not enhance one's social position, but neither does it involve the risk of losing such prestige as the family may enjoy.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Not all of the people in Peihotien have seen ghosts and certainly not all of them believe in ghosts, but there is not a perfect correlation between a man's belief in ghosts and his level of sophistication in other matters. One of my favorite scoffers in the village is a no-nonsense woman about fifty years old. After listening to some men tell me about the habits of ghosts, she laughed and told me what she thought about ghosts. "I'm always walking around at night and I've never once seen a ghost. When I used to gamble, I wandered around even more at night. I would go all the way to Nanhotien to gamble, come back at midnight for more money, and walk all the way back again. I never met a ghost or even worried about one. Remember where old Ong hung himself on that tree behind their house? Just a few days after his suicide we were gambling at Tan's house. A policeman came and we all had to run and the only way was under that tree. None of us held back. If there was a ghost there, it would been trampled to death we were running so fast. When you are gambling you aren't afraid of the King of Hell. How could you be afraid of a ghost?"

Considering the affinity of ghosts for isolated spots, it seems unlikely that many could stick it out for long in Peihotien. There is very little land within the village that isn't tamed by houses or pig pens or kitchen gardens. Unused land is more or less public property and is crossed and recrossed by dozens of people each day. The square directly behind the house in which we lived is a good example. It is flanked on three sides by houses and on the fourth by the main path through the village. A family who supplements their income by making noodles has set up stretching racks in one corner. Years of use has made the surface of the square as hard and smooth as concrete, ideal for a drying ground. During certain seasons its entire upper half is carpeted with fat rice grains which are turned every few hours for uniform drying. Since the square is public, the families who use it must keep a child stationed there to drive off stray chickens and ducks. Two or three times each summer traveling medicine peddlers set up their makeshift stages in the square, give free performances, and then try to sell their wares to the crowds they attract. Sometimes their acts are elaborated by costumes and a squawking loudspeaker; more often they are simple, lighted by a single electric globe rented from one of the families on the square. During the day a peddler may cycle into the village and spread out his merchandise in the square. The women often do not buy anything and leave the poor peddler to fold his goods back into his box and pedal off to the next village.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

Mrs. Lim answered, soothingly, "Now, Ng, your temper is thin, but my son is not a bad person. It is just that we have no money. The money we got from the pig had to go to people we borrowed money from and we still owe them more money. My poor son is the only one earning money in our family and he has to feed us all. We have to borrow a little each month just to have enough to eat. He only makes NT$700* a month and you can't feed six people on that."

Several of the loungers began at this point to calculate just how much money would be needed to feed a family the size of Mrs. Lim's, and the consensus of opinion was that her son's income was indeed not up to the job. Mr. Ng did not join in these interesting calculations but continued to rub his head and make frustrated comments about the store, debtors, fate, etc. He finally growled at the group in general, "Oh, this store! This store! This store just can't give people food if they don't give it money!"

Mrs. Lim smiled at him sympathetically, and said, "Well, if you had a store in the city, you could do things that way, but not in the country. In the country you have to let people have things whether they have money or not. I know it is hard on you, but you just have to do it that way."

Several members of the group agreed with Mrs. Lim and informed Mr. Ng of it. Mr. Ng began to get red in the face again and spoke very loudly to Mrs. Lim. "You calculate how much interest it would cost you if you borrowed two thousand dollars a year. You just see how much interest that would be every month. Now, I don't charge you a single bit of interest, do I? Do I?"

Mrs. Lim looked genuinely horrified at the thought and readily agreed that he did not charge interest. Mr. Ng continued, "So now all I want is my money. You just give me the money and not the interest—just the money so that I can go buy more things for my store. When you go home, you tell that son of yours to bring me my money and I will be happy. I don't care if you never buy anything from me again, but I want my money. I won't say anything about that stupid nephew of yours who has three people in the family that are working and still comes and buys on credit and never pays me back."

* At this time the exchange rate for New Taiwan dollars (NT$) was about forty to one United States dollar. For a village family of two adults and two children approximately NT$800 would provide an average living, with very few luxuries.

3: Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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typical of her generation; once or twice a year she has a permanent wave; she does not wear lipstick or resort to any of the other subterfuges of aging pretty women; she has put on a little weight; she would never be noticed in a crowd. Lim So-lan looks and acts the part of a respectable, middle-aged, village housewife. Even the most malicious gossip in the village can only say of her, "She is a good person. Quiet. Hardworking."

Lim Hue-lieng did not leave his second wife in a very comfortable position. She told me with no bitterness, "We didn't try to save money. We ate very well right up to the day he died." He left her the house, but he also left her with some debts that were either unknown to his father's family or ignored by them. Many women in her position would have refused the bills and sent the creditors to her husband's family, but Lim So-lan chose to settle her own affairs. I heard the following conversation between Lim So-lan's aged mother and a relative from a nearby village.

Relative: "Your So-lan is always busy. She is really a worker."

So-lan's mother: "How can she be anything else? If she didn't work hard, how could she pay off the debts her husband left her? She is always asking people if they need help in the fields. She will do any kind of work."

Relative: "Has she paid that money off yet?"

So-lan's mother: "To the outside people, yes, but she still owes NT$3500 to our family. The thing that really worries her is that daughter of hers, Gioq-ki. Gioq-ki gambles too much and that really makes her mother mad. She usually is the one who has to pay the money that Gioq-ki loses. My So-lan is trying to save some money for herself now. A-hua gives her all the money she makes in the factory, but even though Gioq-ki's children are always begging for pocket money from So-lan, Gioq-ki never gives her any household money. The money the children get for candy is all their grandmother's.

"The only money So-lan owes now is to our family and she doesn't have to pay it back if she doesn't want to. It doesn't matter. She can pay it back if she wants to, but she doesn't have to."

One of Lim So-lan's close friends elaborated on the family's finances: "A-hua gives all of the money she earns in her uncle's factory to So-lan. So-lan works at odd jobs too, and the money they make pays for coal, electricity, soap, and things like that. Gioq-ki's husband pays for the family's food. Gioq-ki owes a lot of money

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Gioq-ki owes a lot of money

because of her gambling, so So-lan has had to start a loan society to pay it off. There are twenty-six members in the group and they each put in NT$100 so she must owe a lot. [Lim So-lan must have needed NT$2600 or she would not have organized such a large group.] Gioq-ki's husband won't give her any money because she gambles so much. They buy their food on credit at Ng's store and then the husband pays up the account at the end of each month."

It was only toward the end of our stay in the village that Lim So-lan decided to take up her husband's last occupation. "After my husband died," she told us, "his friends told me that I ought to continue having people in to gamble, but I was too unhappy then to do it. Besides, without a man in the house this is hard for a woman to do. Then a couple of months ago Song Sin-bin and his friends asked if they could play cards here and I let them. When they play mah-jong, each player gives me a dollar. I make about NT$10 a day. I am supposed to provide the tiles, but since I don't have any, Song Sin-bin brings his. I have asked him to sell them to me. I told him I was embarrassed to take their money when I couldn't even provide the tiles. He said he paid NT$200 for them, but he would sell them to me for NT$180, so I think that I will buy them. When they play mah-jong, I don't make much money, but it isn't much trouble, either. When they play cards, I make much more money—a pack of cards cost NT$ .50, but the owner sells them for NT$5, and they can only be used eight times—but it is a lot more trouble because you have to provide things to eat, too."

A-hua, So-lan's adopted daughter, is in her late teens now. Her contribution to the family income is not very large. In fact, the only way a young girl can make a significant financial contribution is to become a prostitute, and Lim So-lan's family is not poor enough to require that kind of sacrifice. A-hua could earn more than she does if she worked in one of the factories in Tapu or Lungyen, but her mother will not allow this. "A-hua," she said, "earns NT$15 a day in Lim Chieng-cua's factory. That isn't too bad. If she went out of the village to work, she would have to have better clothes and take her lunch. All considered, she probably wouldn't make too much more. That is part of the reason I won't let her go outside to work.

"A few days ago when the factory was low on work, she and some of the others went out and found jobs in Tapu, but I won't let her take it. Her pay is higher than the other girls who work for Lim

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Chieng-cua. If she left him now, he might think I put her up to it. I told her no matter what the difference in pay was, I wouldn't let her go because Lim Chieng-cua is her relative and it would be an embarrassment to work for someone else and not for him. She has worked in the factory for four years now. When she started, she only earned NT$4.50. At first her wages only increased by 40¢ each time, but last year she started to get an increase of NT$2 each time he raised wages. That isn't so bad."

For an adopted daughter A-hua's life, by village standards, is not uncomfortable. Her family is better off than half their neighbors, and her mother is kind. Nonetheless, she is an adopted daughter. Her mother, who grew up as an adopted daughter herself, points out succinctly what this status, or more correctly, lack of status, means: "Gioq-ki is not an adopted daughter so she doesn't have to do much around the house and can refuse to do something she doesn't want to do. A-hua might say no, but I still make her do it. That is the difference."

A-hua's life would be very comfortable indeed if it were not for her elder sister. Gioq-ki is imperious, demanding, and well-versed in the obligations of an adopted daughter. She uses her younger sister as a drudge and as a scapegoat for her own frustrations. Their mother does not often interfere, partly because she is afraid of the temper Gioq-ki inherited from her fierce father, and partly because she accepts her treatment of A-hua as the fate of an adopted daughter. She is far too kind to allow any of the physical cruelties that used to be inflicted on adopted girls, but nothing in her world has ever suggested that adopted daughters can expect much more than this. One day when I was visiting in the large compound of Lim So-lan's mother's family, A-hua came running in, her face streaming with tears, looking for her mother. It was unusual to see A-hua upset—in general, she is a stolid, uncomplaining girl who bears her sister's arrogance patiently.

So-lan had stepped next door for a moment. The other women of the compound tried to calm A-hua as she poured out her troubles. "Gioq-ki told me to give Bun-iek [Gioq-ki's three-year-old son] a bath, but when I got his clothes off he kept saying the water was too hot. Really it wasn't hot, it was already too cool. But he kept insisting and so I said, 'All right then, if you won't take your bath, I'm going to take mine first for a change.' This usually makes him change his mind. Gioq-ki heard this and got mad and started shouting at me to give him

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sophisticated than most village girls, my informant shares their view —such things don't happen to the daughter of Lim Hue-lieng. Naturally, she came home and reported the whole story to her mother. It was also written in Gioq-ki's "fate" that she sit in the sun under her neighbor's window that afternoon, knitting. Gioq-ki burst into her neighbor's house and demanded the whole story which, though understandably reticent, the girl and her mother were forced to relate. They warned her repeatedly to ignore the affair "because he brings home your income and you should be careful that it keeps coming. Forget about him, but don't throw away his money." Gioq-ki, of course, ignored them and confronted her husband with his philandering the minute he came home.

The village spent half the night listening to their quarrel. The girl next door told me, "My relative really feels bad about all this. She said, 'What is wrong with Gioq-ki? She is a very smart girl. Why did she marry this mainlander? If I were like her, I would leave him immediately.' I think she is right. I would rather not have any husband at all than one like this. She isn't his only girl friend, either. He has lots of women. Someone from the village saw him in a train station with another woman, too. That is why he doesn't bring all of his salary home."

The girl's mother, a retired wine house girl, added: "It is best not to interfere in a quarrel between husband and wife and particularly this one because Gioq-ki is very much in love with her husband —even though she denies it. But she didn't know anything about all these women. She is really very poor, and he never gives her enough money. I know what his job is, and I know he can make at least NT$1800, but he never gives her more than NT$300. Her uncle told her she must go to Taipei on his next pay day and collect his salary before he does. She is going to do this and that will take care of it. No money, no girlfriends."

Chang Jong-kuei didn't return to the village for several days. Gioq-ki followed her relatives' advice and went to collect his pay at the newspaper office. Since Chang often does night work at the newspaper, he has a small sleeping room in the building. Gioq-ki decided to leave the older children in this room so that he would have to return to the village to bring them home. Her plan did not succeed. She met her husband on the street and there was a scene that ended with the crying children being pushed back and forth between them.

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#159 #596 609 understandings. She is an uneducated woman who rarely ventures beyond the village world of her childhood; he is a sophisticated man who must compete in a business world that is becoming less and less tolerant of small family enterprises.

Before her foster father's death, A-pou accepted the division of labor in the family without questioning its fairness. Now she does not. One day while I helped her prepare some radishes for market, she #159 #596 607 244 • 434 talked to me with unusual bitterness: "The money in our family is all handled by Lim Chieng-cua and his wife. We work ourselves to death, and they take the profits. Except for the money we make by selling a *jin* of this or that to a neighbor, we give them every cent of the money. If Lim Chieng-cua doesn't see us take out the scales to sell something, his wife does and tells him about it. Last night Chui-ieng saw me selling fifty *jin* of radishes and right away she went into the house and told her husband who came out to see what I was doing. I knew he came out to see what I was going to get and so even though I had intended to give him the money, I purposely did not give it to him.

[443] "When A-bok and I used to take vegetables to Lungyen to sell, we gave all of the money to Lim Chieng-cua except for our train fare and a few dollars we spent to buy bean curd for our lunch. Chui-ieng hires someone to wash her children's clothes. We work hard so that she can take it easy.

#596 #159 607 434 435 [231] "When my father was alive, it wasn't like this. We had fish and meat on the table every day, and we even had to tell him not to buy so much food. We bought all of our vegetables. Now we have to eat what we raise. We used to have three people working for us in the fields, now we have none. At that time our family could save a little money each year, but now Lim Chieng-cua always says we haven't enough money to live on and even has to borrow money. My father gave me NT$200 every time we sold pigs because I was the one who raised the pigs. Since my father died, we have sold pigs seven or eight times, earning NT$17,000 to NT$18,000, and Lim Chieng-cua has not given me even one dollar. Last time we sold pigs, I told him I wasn't going to raise them anymore. So I want to see where he will get this much money now. This year we will make about NT$10,000 on the peanuts, but it will all go to Lim Chieng-cua. When my father was alive, he gave me a little money each time we made a sale, saying, 'You have worked very hard so take this money and spend it on yourself.' Now I can't plan on getting even a dollar for my own use.

[244]

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admit at this point to a strong prejudice against Tan A-hong. I could find in her no redeeming qualities. Her life has been hard and full of frustrations, but it was a way of life she chose in preference to that of marriage. She did not allow her daughter that choice.

Tan A-hong's latest return to Peihotien was primarily at her daughter's urging. To bring her mother north, Chun-ieng gave up a good, secure income in one of the best houses in Tainan and complicated a personal love affair that mattered a great deal to her. Her motives need little explanation: A-hong, as with many women her age and, in particular, women who have been prostitutes, is a habitual gambler. She gambles as long as she can find money and players. When she runs out of money, she sells anything at hand, borrows from anyone foolish enough to loan, and begs from those who refuse loans. Chun-ieng's beauty and vivacious personality provided her with a very good income, but her mother was spending the majority of it in the expensive twenty-four-hour gambling houses of Tainan. Chun-ieng had trouble meeting ordinary living expenses. So, she persuaded her mother to sell her small house, invested as much of the money as she could get away from her into gold (the landless person's only insurance against inflation), and moved her to Peihotien. While Chun-ieng went on to Taipei to find work, her mother searched out the small gambling dens of Hotien.

Their status as guests in the Lim house had no effect on the quarrels between A-hong and Chun-ieng. They were loud and bitter. One night when Chun-ieng returned from Taipei after an absence of a week, she was greeted with the news that her mother had lost over NT$700 in two nights of gambling—nearly a week's income for Chun-ieng and almost a month's income for the average family. Chun-ieng tactlessly demanded that her mother turn over the remainder of the money she had received from the sale of the house. A-hong, of course, refused. "This is my money. Why should I give it to you? Sure, I gamble, but what about you? Don't you ever gamble? You say you want to buy gold with it! Huh! You just want to spend it. You have your own money if you want to buy gold, and you already have plenty of gold hidden away, too. I want to keep my money. Maybe I'll buy some gold, too."

Chun-ieng answered her wearily, "All right, I'm not going to argue with you. I'm too tired. I just wanted to say something about it so that people would know I tried and would not blame me."

4:Barnett E-4,5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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Table 2. Historical Demographic Rates for Taiwan (Prior to 1950 from United Nations Demographic Yearbook, 1955; remaining from United Nations Statistical Yearbook, 1969)

Years	Birth Rate	Death Rate	Natural Increase
1906-10	41.7	33.4	8.3
1916-20	40.4	31.0	9.4
1926-30	45.0	22.1	22.9
1936-40	45.4	20.6	24.8
1948-50	41.5	12.9	28.6
1955	39.5	6.9	32.6
1960	34.5	5.7	28.8
1965	28.5	5.5	23.0

recorded for Western industrialized nations.[7] No corresponding change occurred in the birth rate until the most recent period. Surveys now indicate a growing desire for smaller families (M. Yang, 1962:69-71) and modern birth control practices are gaining in popularity, particularly the use of "Intra-uterine Devices" (I.U.D.).

163 The natural increase is still very high but the situation seems to be coming under control. An annual growth rate of 30.0 (3%) means a doubling of a population in just over 25 years. W. Thompson extended current growth rates in 1958 to suggest that the population of Taiwan in 1980 would likely number about 18 million (1959:363) provided the necessities of life could be supplied in about the existing amounts per capita. He further added that as an isolated economic unit, even with a modest population increase of one per cent per year, it was unlikely that Taiwan would be able to maintain her present per

163 capita income which has been higher than the average for
[434] Asia (1959:367). At an increase near three per cent, it would be highly probable that the positive checks envisioned by Malthus (war, famine, disease) would assume dominance and result in a spiraling death rate simply because of the shortage of sufficient food to support healthy
[842] life. There are strong indications however, that the
[582] negative checks Malthus envisioned (birth control and delayed marriage) are becoming operative. The birth rate has begun to decline rapidly (see Table 2) and the average age at marriage is higher than ever before.

168 Even as late as the early nineteen-sixties, the government had approached birth control with mixed emotions. On the one hand, there was recognition of the man-land relationship and the necessity for enforcing a balance; on the other hand, there was a felt need for a sizeable birth rate to produce soldiers to eventually retake the mainland. Official birth control programs started slowly but currently, clinics are widely available. A government-subsidized clinic in Hsin Tien will insert an Intrauterine Device for Sanlei residents at a cost of $30.00, about one-fourth the charge of a private doctor.

163 Thompson's other assumption of Taiwan as an iso-
434 lated unit is also not supported. Foreign trade is in-
439 creasing and the rate of increase in Per Capita Income is

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434 greater than the increase in population (K. T. Chen, 1967:
439 98).

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165 Sanlei demographic records for 1966 during our study indicate that the village does not deviate much from the total island figures indicated in Table 2. Thirteen births yield a rate of 31.8 and seven deaths, a rate of 11.9, for a combined natural increase of 19.9. This increase, lower than the total island figure of 23.0, is partly due to the larger numbers of old people in the village and also due to the missing people in prime child-
[161] bearing ages. However, the mid-year population of 409, a very small "n," does not really allow for meaningful contrasts, i.e., one more birth would have meant nearly
[842] identical increase rates. Many village women are now prac-
[582] ticing birth control and the average age at marriage is also creeping upwards, both factors contributing to the trend to a smaller rate of natural increase.

Social Organization

128 Chapters IV through VI are devoted to selected aspects of social organization: formal organization and social control, kinship, and voluntary organization. A brief summary of the three chapters is presented below in order to set the stage in a general way both for this overview and to make each chapter fit into the context of the whole.

4:Barnett E-4.5 (1965-1967) 1970 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
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CHAPTER III

THE ECONOMIC BASE

434 621 Economically, Sanlei Village is first of all a farming community. Although there are other significant sources contributing to community income, a vast majority of the households earn all or a significant segment of their income from agricultural activities. Only five of the sixty-six households have no direct involvement in agriculture.

433 438 There are four commercially significant agricultural products in the Sanlei area: rice, tea, oranges, and wood. Although a large portion of the rice and wood production is for family consumption within the village, the major share of the four products is produced for the market. The market is a primary external force impinging [628] on village activities. To participate effectively in the market, villagers are forced to establish and maintain extra-village social relationships.

Land and Land Tenure

423 All the land within the village boundaries of Sanlei has been classified and graded by the government. The

562 In the past, a village woman who was deeply dissatisfied
882 may have remained at home because there were few reasonable
869 alternatives whereas now she can go to the city and work in a factory. Knowledge of this opportunity undoubtedly is a threat enforcing better treatment of younger women.

294 There are other minor sources of income. One vil-
463 lage woman has become a seamstress recently in competition
[434] with women in the town of Hsin Tien and Peuti as well as some in the nearby villages of Erhlei and T'oulei. Her business has been so good that within six months, she purchased another sewing machine and hired a young girl to train as an assistant.

464 Occasionally, one of the tomb builders will hire a number of villagers to clear a piece of land or help dig a tomb. During certain seasons, people will be employed temporarily in a variety of jobs. For example, during the winter, there are occasional opportunities to get a day's labor as an aide on a coal delivery truck. In the summer a village girl sells shaved ice in front of the temple.

444 Not minor in terms of income but minor in terms of numbers are the two village stores, each a family enterprise. The one which presently enjoys the greatest share of the business is run by an older influential leader surnamed Liao who is chairman of the permanent temple committee. The newer store which is run by a Chiu family who have only lived in the village forty years has a smaller

464 new migrant and they are an asset to the village in other
166 ways for the continue to contribute to village and temple
369 affairs. By informal means only, I was able to locate 27 families in Taipei which were headed by individuals who had formerly lived in Sanlei.

434 The above description indicates how Sanlei villagers draw means for their sustenance locally and from the surrounding area. Food is grown for home consumption and cash is earned by selling surplus food and other agricultural products. It is implied that some of the cash is
443 used for items not available from fellow villagers. Not only are there regular trips to town for purchases, many different kinds of peddlers regularly appear in the village as previously discussed, in an average day about three to five. About once every month or two a traveling sales show comes through and stays one night in either Sanlei or Erhlei, entertaining with songs and chatter as long as people keep buying medicine.

621 The village is not remotely self-sufficient. For example, all farm implements and all cloth among other items must be purchased. For some goods and services, the purchase is on a price or impulse basis but for
463 others, there are regular established relationships. For
621 example, T'oulei has an electrician but no carpenter
628 while Sanlei has several carpenters but no electrician. The custom has developed such that Sanlei carpenters get

511 janitor and small repairman for a university building at
463
465 $1,300.00 per month. He repairs miner's caps (lights) in the evening in his spare time for two of the mines and nets about $200.00 per month and also works about 3 to 4 days per month as a farm laborer at a daily rate of $50.00. His wife works periodically picking tea or weeding and subject to seasonal variation, earns about $2,500.00 per year. His mother earns another $2,000.00 yearly as a [434] mid-wife. The total yearly income is about $24,600.00.

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[244] The family is renting a house and houseland up the hill at one end of the village which has some nearby land on which the family raises sweet potatoes and vegetables [262] for personal consumption. Sweet potatoes are an important part of their daily diet but usually in conjunction with [235] rice. They also raise several chickens (about 15 at a time) and eat some and trade others.

Monthly expenses just about match monthly income. [466] Liao Kao-mu's job provides an excellent health insurance [745] plan for the entire family which eliminates medical expenses. The family's future plans are to continue his job which is reasonably secure and features periodic raises and a yearly bonus. The mountain field mortgage is now over 80% discharged and in another year will be in full production. As soon as it is free and clear, he plans to purchase another piece of mountain land and has already

511 talked to the township office about its acquisition.

842 Although both Liao Kao-mu and his mother are upset, his wife is currently employing an Intrauterine Device in order to prevent pregnancy. Liao wants another child or two, at least one boy, but as he says, there is not much one can do about it. His wife says she will probably have another child when the baby of the family is about three or four years old.

511 [383] [592] 511 463 465 A third contrast is with the family of Lin An-hwei, a Mainlander who is an adopted-in husband. In his home are his wife, her parents, and his four children. He is a skilled dynamiter in the mine and earns $100.00 per day or an average of about $2,600.00 per month which would be sufficient to put the family in the middle status group in the village if Lin were not a Mainlander. He does no farming but does help around the house by tending the children. His wife has a small vegetable garden (about 20 feet square) for the kitchen and also works as a laborer picking tea and weeding and earns about $5,000.00 [434] per year. The family income totals over $31,000.00 each year.

511 736 However, the family is deeply in debt because the two old parents are nearly blind and have recently had heavy medical expenses. The current situation in this family illustrates the previously discussed problem of the high dependency ratio in the village. Four small children

462 on a piece work basis and orange-orchard weeding on a daily
476 rate. Both pay more than tea grading and are much harder,
245 employing young to middle-age married women. Once again, this is usually performed by regular recurrent groups although income is not shared. Employers from the village our outside hire a group by contacting one member of the group most of whom have one informal leader, an aggressive type in her forties who plans work ahead of time. She earns no extra money but seems to enjoy the power and prestige. Some individuals are hired as individuals and for smaller jobs, teams often break up into sub-units or even individuals.

562 Income from any of the above sources belongs to the
• 434 woman's family unit as does men's income. However, two
476 sources of income are not shared with the family and are
291 considered the personal resources of females: that derived
412 from making brooms and straw hats. This can be done only
42 in leisure time when other work is not expected, i.e., the time between cleaning up the dinner dishes and going to bed. Once more, some women work individually, but others jointly cooperate and share income.

462 There are other kinds of shared work activities
476 which are not involved with income, the housework such as cooking and cleaning as well as tending children. It was previously pointed out that women in extended families frequently share work or take turns and some women who are friends and neighbors often do the same. There are many

The major exception involves girls who are hired by factories, particularly clothing factories. There is one small factory close enough to commute by bicycle daily and two factories which pick up the girls on a truck in the morning and return them each night. Although it is expected that each girl will turn over her money to the family, she is economically independent and usually has pocket money of her own. On Sunday, a non-work day, these girls travel in a group to the park, the theater, etc. Girls who work in the same place play together. Since there are three factories, there are three such groups, each related to a factory and cutting across village lines although seldom do groups include anyone living outside Talei Li.

I Ching (Voluntary Policemen)

The modern I Ching organization (voluntary policemen) was started for men in good health between the ages of 30 and 45 two to three years after the Restoration by the regular police organization. Men are available anytime for service but tend to be most active for the fifty days immediately preceding the lunar New Year. An old Chinese custom requires that all debts should be paid by New Year's day and the pressure to liquidate debts leads to an increase in the frequency of robbery although robbery is a fairly common crime on Taiwan in general. During the period of fifty days before New Year, the I Ching mount a night patrol in Talei Li.

Each member is furnished a rain coat, flash light,

625 [435] [573] participant receives $4.00 to purchase noodles. As stated previously, sworn brothers associations sometimes mount the patrol in other periods on their own initiative as a community service without any contributions.

Once a month, the I Ching go to the police station in Pouti for training conducted by the policeman assigned to the li with the help of other officers in the station. Occasionally, a high ranking officer from Hsin Tien comes in to give a pep talk. The efficiency of the force and the degree of assistance obtained is purely dependent on the kind of relationship the policeman is able to establish with villagers. Although considerable force and power is his by virtue of his office, villagers can make his job relatively easy or very difficult. The previous policeman had been stationed in Sanlei for many years and [648] had excellent relations with villagers. Most police are Mainlanders, one of whom was assigned shortly after our study began. Since he only spoke a few words of Taiwanese and those with an accent, he was having a [191] difficult time. Many villagers speak no Mandarin and several that know some Mandarin refuse to speak it.

434 If a thief is captured, the I Ching on duty get a reward of $120.00 each (more than two days regular pay) and the policeman in charge of the li gets a citation of merit. One third of the reward comes from the donations, one third from the police station in Hsin Tien, and one third from the main police station in

by duplicating the orientation. Since there are family burial plots, geomancers are not always used for additional burials.

The most frequent call for a geomancer to come to Sanlei is to orient the kitchen stove. Sanlei villagers usually consult a geomancer from Pouti but occasionally employ a more expensive one from Hsin Tien. Although the literature mentions relocation of ancestral graves if a family has great misfortune, this has not happened in Sanlei but about twenty years ago, one family removed a rock near a tomb and planted three trees as directed by a geomancer who was called as a consultant after much misfortune.

As previously stated, Talei Li has many excellent sites for tombs with powerful feng shui coordinates. Two of the most famous geomancers in Taipei have purchased many of these sites. They then select them for clients and also sell the sites to the clients and make a profit both on the sale and as a consultant. One village mason and two village women earn a significant part of their incomes helping erect the elaborate tombs.

Shamans of various kinds are still consulted for illnesses although villagers believe the frequency is declining. Three different men, all from nearby villages, are called in periodically. However, trips are also made to the consulting rooms of two others, a ching tsao hsien

796 The affair involved a sizeable expenditure of re-
524 sources. The temple committee collected and spent over
435 [585] $5,500.00. The two weddings scheduled because of the cere-
mony, one with eight tables (80 guests) and the other with
five tables (50 guests) meant a dinner guest fee[10] alone
of over $6,000.00 without the additional gifts and expenses.
Sixty-one other households held elaborate dinners with
feasts too for there were more guests in the village than
residents. For one of the richer households, the addition-
al expenditures on food and drink as compared with a typi-
[434] cal day exceeded $700.00. To assess the size of this
figure, note that an experienced farm laborer earns but
$50.00 for a full day's work. No villager seemed too un-
happy about the expenditure as people claim they now "dare
[178] to spend money" (see Glossary C). The expenditures for pai
pai have increased in Sanlei village, a process that seems
common to all of Taiwan and which reflects the overall
growing prosperity.

Summary :

791 Religion is very important in Sanlei Ts'un. Although
little importance can be attached to an organized hierarchy
of religious functionaries, there are many kinds of unorgan-
782 ized specialists who are consulted as needs arise. Addi-
tionally, almost everyone in the village can and does per-
form religious acts regularly. There is daily worship in
most homes and special worship connected with almost every
important event: life crises, health, and economic.

572 groups but these are much less likely to continue after marriage. A girl is likely to establish a close relationship with no more than one or two other girls that may persist if their homes are not far apart after they are married.

593 Most of the money young adults earn is turned over
[434] to the family but a small allowance is usually retained and parents buy extras or furnish money for such things as clothes. Instead of asking for money, a young adult hints broadly for what he desires. (Even after marriage, if residence is in an extended household, the money is still
[913] likely to be controlled by parents.) It is the family's responsibility to save sufficient money for a boy's wedding and since the dowry of a girl from a "good" family will equal or exceed the bride price, the parents of girls too must save. In rare cases, it appears that girls are just sold at marriage with parents pocketing the entire bride price.

561 There is an occasional ceremony to mark a boy's six-
702 teenth birthday which features food and worship with specialists. Since Taiwan now has universal military training, almost all boys are drafted for one to three years of military service. Families often hold a going-away party for the boy and quite a few villagers accompany the boy to the military
[46] bus in Hsin Tien where local officials make speeches. Since
[80] the pay in the service is only $100.00 per month, a boy's family often provides a subsidy and because of the low pay,

362 The literature suggests that boys had an easier life
593 than girls. In Sanlei, girls do work harder than boys, but in general, are usually closer emotionally to mother than boys. Fathers seem strained and formal in their interaction with sons and more relaxed with girls; not a few men are quite indulgent towards their daughters. According to Lang (1946:29), "the mother was chia-tze, the symbol of kindness, the father chia-yen, the symbol of dignity and sternness" in the Chinese family.

Children in Sanlei, male and female alike, were ex-
[861] pected to be obedient to parents. Yet, child-rearing techniques tended to be quite permissive and small children often refused to carry out parental commands and the child
[584] who threw a temper tantrum was ignored. Many young adults refused marriages arranged by parents, a few ran away but quite often, they were able to assert their will and remain
[434] at home. Children who work outside their homes turn over their money to parents at about the same rate whether male
[882] or female. Girls however, tend to be watched more carefully and strictly but most girls are still able to exert considerable influence and control over their own destinies. Many girls show little hesitation to challenge parental decisions as illustrated in connection with the previous discussion of marriage, sex, dating, and work.

The converse of the above would be the relationship between mother and son. It should be obvious that during